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SUBJECT International Terrorism

LESLEY STAHL: This was a week when more innocent Americans were murdered by terrorist bombs, a week when the United States fell victim to random violence and felt again the frustration of our inability to prevent, contain, or retaliate against what President Reagan called "these barbaric, wanton actions."

West Berlin. A terrorist bomb explodes in a discotheque frequented by American GIs. The bomb kills two, one an American, and injures 190.

Athens, TWA Flight 840. A terrorist bomb explodes on landing. Four passengers killed, all of them American.

MAN: Who would kill a mother and a child? It's beyond me.

MAY ELIAS MANSOUR: I did not do it.

STAHL: Investigators believe this woman, May Elias Mansour, who carried a Lebanese passport, may have planted the explosive. Eyewitnesses say she sat in Seat 10F, where the bomb later went off.

An anonymous caller in Beirut claimed revenge by the Arab Revolutionary Cells for America's military actions against Libya. Colonel Qaddafi denied any involvement, but U.S. officials say they hold him responsible.

The Administration is bracing for more acts of terror, placing U.S. diplomats and U.S. facilities abroad under unusually high states of alert. And with reports that explosives can

WASHINGTON LETTER
April 1986

JACK ANDERSON'S

WASHINGTON LETTER

ASK JACK ANDERSON

In response to my report on Iran-backed terrorism, a Huntsville, Ala., subscriber writes: "It is now admitted that the prime minister of Iran was assassinated by our own CIA and the shah put on the throne. Do you suppose that we can sow the wind and not reap the whirlwind?"

The reader is referring to Mohammed Mossadegh, who ruled Iran in the early 1950s -- an eccentric Iranian nationalist, frail, hairless, wrinkled, given to weeping in public, who appeared preposterous to Occidentals but struck a deep chord in the Iranian psyche. A CIA-backed coup ousted but did not assassinate him -- and brought Shah Mohammed Reza Pahlavi to power in 1953.

I am one of the few who investigated Mossadegh's overthrow. While this political coup 33 years ago helps explain Iran's hatred of America, it is no justification for the worldwide terrorism of Ayatollah Khomeini.

DICTATOR WATCH: IS KHADAFY REALLY CRAZY?

I have read secret psychological profiles which portray Libya's Muammar Khadafy as erratic and unpredictable, with abrasive convictions that smack of solitary brooding among the dunes. But none of the reports suggested he was crazy.

He appears to have been the product of three basic molding influences. As a nomad of the Sirtic desert, he grew up in a region influenced by the Sanusi, a proselytizing sect that taught a puritanical Islam and inculcated a fierce hatred of things foreign.

As a bedouin, nourished on campfire-bred tribal memories and antipathies, he bore the psychic marks of the Italian onslaught on the bedouins which reached its peak in the early 1930s, the decade before Khadafy's birth.

As an Arab adolescent in the 1950s, he found his hostilities, frustrations and hopes given gripping expression and purposeful synthesis in the broadcasts and deeds of Egypt's late leader, Gamal Abdel Nasser. Khadafy zealously worshiped and romanticized Nasser's mythic image as only a youth can. Nasser became young Khadafy's model in both goals and tactics, in the most methodical sense.

Footnote: President Reagan has ordered the CIA to mount a covert operation to overthrow Khadafy.

ARTICLE APPEARED
ON PAGE 23

ON THE ROAD TO THE SUMMIT

Weinberger keeps getting shut out

By NILES LATHEM
Washington Bureau Chief

HELSINKI. DEFENSE Secretary Caspar Weinberger has been cut out of the Geneva summit after losing a series of epic battles inside the Reagan administration over U.S. arms control policy.

The most telling evidence that Weinberger is on the outside is seen here by the fact that there is not a single representative of the Pentagon in the U.S. delegation traveling with Secretary of State George Shultz on his mission to Moscow today.

Administration officials say President Reagan has privately rejected a request from Weinberger that he be included in the U.S. delegation traveling to the Geneva summit in three weeks.

Weinberger's once considerable clout has diminished because of his continued opposition to U.S. arms control policies advocated by Shultz and the increasingly powerful national security adviser, Robert McFarlane.

Insiders say Weinberger was bitterly opposed to the White House offer of a counter-proposal to Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev's 50 percent arms reduction package.

The defense chief argued that there is nothing in the proposal that merited a U.S. response other than a "rhetorical one."

In fact, Reagan's final decision to offer a counter-proposal to Moscow last

week was made while Weinberger and his arms control adviser, Asst. Secretary of Defense Richard Perle, were attending a NATO conference in Brussels.

The arms control defeat for Weinberger comes on the heels of equally bitter losses on the Pentagon budget earlier this year and leaves him alone increasingly frustrated.

Could a resignation be far behind?

★ ★ ★
CIA Director William Casey is making some of his own secret preparations for the Geneva summit in the murky underworld of U.S. intelligence.

Casey, who is quietly entrenched as one of President Reagan's most influential advisers, held a series of highly secret face-to-face meetings with KGB defectors Oleg Gordiebsky and Yuri Dzurchenko in the past month to get first-hand information about Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev.

Dzurchenko, the No. 5 man in the KGB until his defection two months ago, has reportedly provided "valuable insight" into Gorbachev and his sudden rise to power.

Dzurchenko, one of the most prized defectors in U.S. history, watched Gorbachev rise from a special vantage point because of his close ties to former Soviet leader and KGB boss Yuri Andropov.

Gordiebsky, the former KGB station chief in London who defected to Britain earlier this year, also had extensive dealings with Gorbachev last December during the latter's widely publicized tour of London.

Casey flew secretly to London four weeks ago to interview Gordiebsky, sources said.

The material Casey collected from these rare encounters will apparently be going into a lengthy C.I.A. profile on Gorbachev that will be delivered to the White House as part of the final preparation for Reagan's showdown in Geneva.

★ ★ ★
FIVE days after the White House rolled out the red carpet for four visiting Soviet journalists, giving them the first exclusive in-

terview with a U.S. President since the Kennedy era, a feud is erupting between the press offices of the two nations.

Insiders say that members of Secretary of State Shultz' delegation are fuming over Soviet denial of a visa for NBC correspondent Anne Garrels, who had been scheduled to fly with Shultz to Moscow this week.

Miss Garrels, a former correspondent in Moscow, had filed a series of hard-hitting reports on the Soviet Union that angered the Kremlin.

A U.S. official said the denial was unjustified, especially in view of critical comments that the four Soviet journalists who interviewed Reagan made about the President in the U.S. media last week.

JACK ANDERSON'S

WASHINGTON LETTER

October 1985 Update

EXCERPTED

ASK JACK ANDERSON

A Los Angeles, Calif., subscriber writes regarding the abandonment of the Miskito Indian fighters in Nicaragua: "You know as well as I do that Congress cut off the funds to the CIA and that Congress and not the CIA is to be blamed for this tragedy. Why don't you place the blame where it belongs...namely, on liberals such as you who have been critical of American support of the Freedom Fighters in Nicaragua?"

True, Congress discontinued aid to the Contra forces in Nicaragua after May, 1984. However, in June of this year Congress voted \$27 million in humanitarian aid (food, medicine and clothing). But my reporter in Central America found several weeks later that the Misura forces (including Miskitos) still were receiving poor medical care and food supplies; several had not received adequate medical treatment since 1983-84. (Perhaps I should add that I have been a sharp critic of the Marxist regime in Nicaragua. I support President Reagan's aims if not all his methods.)

FOREIGN OUTLOOK: PASS THE AMMUNITION

Mal de mer. The French government belatedly admitted its responsibility for the sinking of the anti-nuclear protest ship Rainbow Warrior, in which one man died. My intelligence sources report a disturbing "So what?" attitude among U.S. and allied intelligence circles toward what can only be described as state-sponsored terrorism. The feeling seems to be that the French had every right to take drastic action to protect what they viewed as their national interests. If this is indeed the attitude of responsible intelligence officials, that's pretty scary.

Continued

WASHINGTON POST
 25 August 1985

Jack Anderson and Dale Van Atta

Romania's Defiance

No Soviet bloc nation has been more independent than Romania. Its autonomy was dramatized last summer when the Romanian delegation proudly marched to the cheers of the Olympics crowd in Los Angeles—alone among Russia's allies in refusing to join the boycott.

The maverick responsible for this show of defiance is Nicolae Ceausescu, who has ruled Romania with an iron fist since 1965. Yet many Romanians revere him as an indestructible national asset.

The fact of his mortality, however, has been of increasing interest to the CIA, which has been sending top-secret reports about Ceausescu to President Reagan.

The dispatches coming out of Bucharest indicate that the 67-year-old leader is dying of prostate cancer. According to one classified prediction, he is not expected to live until spring.

The key to White House interest in Ceausescu is found in one paragraph of a top-secret CIA profile: "Although the great powers all play an important part in Ceausescu's thinking, he has been very interested in improving rela-

tions with the United States. He believes Romania, which has an 830-mile border with the USSR, needs powerful friends, if only for the psychological boost they can provide."

This posture also gives him higher approval ratings at home. "Ceausescu enjoys a great measure of genuine popular support," the CIA profile says. "His people are highly nationalistic, proud of Romania's continued defiance of the Russians and admire his ability to exploit great-power rivalries to promote Romanian national interests."

Aside from refusing to go along with the Olympic boycott, Ceausescu publicly opposed the 1968 Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia, the Vietnamese takeover of Cambodia in 1979, the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan and both Soviet and American development of space weapons.

When Ceausescu took control of the Romanian Communist Party 20 years ago, the Soviets incorrectly assumed he would be a loyal puppet. After all, he had joined the then-illegal party at the age of 14, and he was scarcely out of his teens before he was thrown into jail for eight years and intermittently tortured for his politics.

But Ceausescu shocked the Soviets a mere four years after he came to power by becoming the first post-World War II East European leader to host a U.S. head of state when he received President Richard Nixon in Bucharest.

The following year, he flew to New York for the 25th anniversary of the founding of the United Nations. He was later received by presidents Ford and Carter at the White House and once took a two-week tour of the United States.

Ironically, the popularity he has amassed in Bucharest is indirectly the result of his repressive rule. "He has managed to carve out a measure of independence from Moscow, in part, because he has insisted on maintaining a rigid, orthodox communist system at home," the CIA says.

But the old man has been slowing down. Close examination even of touched-up photos in Romanian newspapers show he is deteriorating. He is losing weight and appears tired. He has missed key meetings and even volleyball games, his favorite form of relaxation. The

word in Bucharest is that his wife, Elena, is running the government.

Like most despots, Ceausescu is a nepotist. His wife serves as first deputy prime minister, head of Romania's scientific policy-making body and member of three of the four principal committees of the Romanian Communist Party. One son, Nicu, has already been groomed as his successor. Another son, a daughter, three brothers, a sister and two brothers-in-law have also been given top Romanian honors or positions to ensure a Ceausescu dynasty.

Meanwhile, the CIA predicts, Ceausescu will continue his shrewdly calculated defiance of the Soviets. Conclude the analysts:

"Ceausescu knows that the Soviets will tolerate Romanian recalcitrance only as long as they do not see it as a serious threat. [His] success in following his chosen course is a measure of his ability to judge correctly the limits of Soviet tolerance. In playing this course, he is always running the risk of miscalculation."

ARTICLE APPEARED
ON PAGE C1

NEW YORK TIMES
2 April, 1985

Political Forces Come Under New Scrutiny Of Psychology

By DANIEL GOLEMAN

IN a recent rapprochement, psychologists and political scientists are merging disciplines to form a new field, political psychology. The mutual interest comes from psychologists who are applying their skills to the political arena and political scientists who are coming to appreciate the importance of psychology in the world of politics.

Political psychology is still in the main an academic discipline rather than an active force in international diplomacy or domestic politics. But current research indicates that the discipline can yield valuable information about Soviet behavior, for example, and the problems inherent in a military policy based on deterrence.

Proponents of the discipline assert that it has the potential of bringing greater clarity and soundness to government decisions and perhaps even of improving the manner in which governments perceive and deal with each other. Much of the new psychological interest has centered on international politics.

"There has been a crucial dimension missing" in politics, according to Roger Walsh, a psychiatrist who wrote the book "Staying Alive: The Psychology of Human Survival" (New Science Library). "Crises between nations have been viewed in political, economic and military terms, but very little has been said about the fact that these problems are also expressions of psychological needs and fears, too."

Process of
international
relations has
special
allure for
research.

Psychological elements have always been conspicuously at work in international relations, but now more and more psychologists themselves are scrutinizing these factors. The issue of deterrence is a case in point. The MX missile, whatever its military usefulness may be, is often seen as a weapon whose importance is largely symbolic, more a tool for manipulating perceptions than for fulfilling a real military need.

Steven Kull, a psychologist at the Center for International Security and Arms Control at Stanford University, said that to make a symbolic weapon potent, politicians must act as if they truly believed that it was a genuine military tool. A psychological game ensues in which they must make public pronouncements that do not agree with their own military assessments. Along the way they may find themselves engaging in a kind of psychological "doublethink," managing to hold two antithetical views at the same time. "Pentagon officials have even publicly admitted this doublethink, but the public seems to have taken it on, too," Dr. Kull said. "Everyone seems to reconcile the paradox by imagining that somewhere else there is a mass of people for whose benefit it is crucial to maintain the illusion that we can gain advantage by building these weapons."

Political psychologists argue that the clear awareness of such mental maneuvering allows for more realistic decision making in response to it. A weapon system

that is clearly symbolic, for instance, would call for a different response than one that had a real military mission.

In recent years, a growing list of eminent psychologists and psychiatrists have become concerned with international relations. Notable among them are B. F. Skinner of Harvard, who applies behaviorism to the causes of the arms race; Robert Jay Lifton of Yale, who has applied psychoanalytic insights to understanding the impact of nuclear weapons, and Jerome Frank of Johns Hopkins University, who wrote the book "Sanity and Survival in the Nuclear Age," an early effort to treat world politics in a psychological framework. In the 50's, Erich Fromm exemplified a tradition in psychoanalysis, dating back to the early Freudians, which saw an important role for psychoanalysis in social criticism. Among the growing number of scholars currently engaged in the field, Herbert Kelman of Harvard is applying principles of conflict resolution to the basic disagreement among Arabs and Israelis in the Middle East.

Few political scientists, until now, have been receptive to the psychological approach. "Most political scientists are thin on psychology, while most psychologists are naive about international politics, but each can profit enormously from the other," said Robert Jervis, a political scientist at Columbia University who has been at the forefront of the merger of the two fields.

Still Viewed as Untested

While psychologists have been quick to embrace politics as a domain where their expertise could be useful, political scientists as a whole have been more reticent. "Although political psychology is now seen as a legitimate topic in political science," Dr. Jervis added, "it is still viewed as untested." Nevertheless, when a program that will finance 40 scholars to bring new approaches, such as psy-

Continued

CBS EVENING NEWS

11 May 1984

RATHER: Fresh reports tonight that Konstantin Chernenko, top leader of the Soviet Union, is ill. The 72-year-old Chernenko has been in office only three months, succeeding the late Yuri Andropov, who died at age 69. State Department correspondent Bill McLaughlin has been checking these news reports of Chernenko's illness.

MCLAUGHLIN: Well, Dan, there's certainly no indication that Chernenko is not completely in charge of the Soviet Union, but intelligence sources do know he has emphysema, a lung disease, and it may be getting worse. An indication of that may have come yesterday. Sources in Moscow saw him as he welcomed the Spanish king and queen. He had to be helped to meet them by two body guards, who actually supported him, and during the toasts, his voice faltered and his hands shook. Today again, Chernenko looked quite ill as he welcomed Portuguese Communist leaders.

RATHER: There's no indication--now I want to emphasize this or at least get it clear--there's no indication that Chernenko's grip on the leadership of the Soviet Union is loosening because of what appears to be this worsening of his illness we've known about for some time.

MCLAUGHLIN: No, not at all, Dan, but certainly his health does seem to be deteriorating from what we can see, the physical evidence.

RATHER: Thank you very much, Bill McLaughlin, in Washington.

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WASHINGTON POST
9 May 1984

*Rowland Evans
And Robert Novak*

A Soviet Fear Campaign

Multiple firings of six unarmed Soviet missiles believed to be intermediate-range SS20s stunned U.S. intelligence early last month, heightening concern that massive Soviet naval exercises in the North Atlantic were designed to intimidate the West.

Officials here differ whether the United States was notified about the first-ever launchings. But there is universal agreement about these aspects of the SS20 surprise and the naval games: both were unprecedented in size and scope; both fit new Soviet fear tactics aimed at Western Europe.

That portends a summer and fall of extraordinary Soviet maneuvers. The Russians want to regain the initiative lost last December when NATO installed its new Pershing II missiles. They also want to undermine President Reagan as leader of the West and defeat his reelection bid. That he seems benignly indifferent may be less a sign of a president's strength than of a candidate's folly.

Multiple firings of unarmed SS20s violate no Soviet treaty undertaking. But the sudden discovery that the missiles were on their way north from launching sites, believed west of the Urals, came as a shock.

That shock equaled the tremor that surged through the Pentagon when the Defense Intelligence Agency learned that Delta-class Soviet strategic submarines—armed with nuclear-tipped strategic ballistic missiles—had sailed with the fleet into the open Atlantic. "It was a surge of Deltas, the first ever," one high-level official told us.

This, too, happened in early April. The Deltas have occasionally sailed far from home, but never before have they left their base near Murmansk on the Kola Peninsula in "a surge" to join fleet maneuvers in the open ocean.

Top strategists in the Reagan administration seldom agree on all points, but there is strong consensus that, as one top official told us, the Kremlin has made a decision to "turn up the fear factor to the max." That implies an ominous shift in Soviet policy toward the United States and its sometimes reluctant European allies: instead of under-

playing its military power, which failed to stop NATO rearmament, it is trying to terrorize by muscle-flexing.

The shift from Slavic caution to Great Russian chauvinism seems connected with the Kremlin's power vacuum. That vacuum was not filled by the elevation of Konstantin Chernenko, Leonid Brezhnev's aging crony who had been ignominiously passed over when Brezhnev died.

The soundness of Kremlinologist doubts that Chernenko ever would exert real power was confirmed when the Central Intelligence Agency finished an in-depth study of Chernenko's health. It found him seriously disabled by an emphesyma-like lung disease, compounded by circulatory problems.

That opened the door of real power for the hardest of Kremlin hard-liners, Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko, and his collaborator, Defense Minister Dmitri Ustinov, who are now calling all turns of Soviet foreign policy.

The result has heightened the Soviet military posture worldwide. In Central Asia, an awesome aggregation of Soviet bombers assembled, partly for action in Afghanistan. Naval maneuvers along the Vietnam coast signaled China not to cozy up too close to Reagan. It worked. Reagan's speeches were censored, and Chinese military men were excluded from meetings and festivities during his visit.

Not so clear is how Soviet intimidation affects U.S. allies in Europe, but signals are troublesome. During Italian Foreign Minister Giulio Andreotti's visit in Moscow with Chernenko, he was warned point-blank by Gromyko not to forget that the Soviet Union could create "a Pompeii" out of all Italy. Days later, Italian Prime Minister Bettino Craxi suggested a possible moratorium in the NATO nuclear buildup.

Desiring to shed all bellicosity and appear a man of peace in seeking reelection, Reagan may be making a mistake by ignoring the Kremlin's shift. Asked at his last press conference about the Soviet naval exercise, he made light of it as "nothing more" than the usual springtime war games.

More than most, President Reagan should know his remark was nonsense. Treating voters as too delicate to know the truth could be downright dangerous by inadvertently helping the Gromyko-Ustinov campaign to overawe the West.

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WASHINGTON POST
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JACK ANDERSON

Hirohito Held In Awe by CIA, Japanese Public

When Emperor Hirohito steps out on the balcony of his palace in downtown Tokyo this Sunday to greet thousands of adoring Japanese on his 83rd birthday, there'll be a CIA agent in the crowd—probably with binoculars.

It's one of the ways the CIA's Life Sciences Division can observe firsthand how the diminutive emperor looks. There have been recent hints that his health is failing.

Though he holds no direct political power, Hirohito has been a favorite subject of CIA surveillance for decades. My associate Dale Van Atta, who was recently in Tokyo, has had access to some of the secret CIA profiles of the emperor. They reveal that the CIA's remorseless analysts, like the Japanese people, hold this aged, bespectacled little man in awe.

"Despite all he has been through since he assumed the throne in 1926," notes the CIA, "Emperor Hirohito projects innocence and sincerity." The CIA describes him as "a shy, retiring man."

He and his 81-year-old empress like to watch soap operas on TV and putter in the imperial gardens. "Both

the emperor and empress [enjoy pursuing] their personal interests—marine biology and botany for the emperor, art for the empress," states another profile, this one stamped "Confidential." In fact, Hirohito is the world's chief authority on jellyfish and related creatures, with 16 books to his credit.

According to the CIA, the emperor "is briefed regularly on domestic and foreign affairs." Yet he "plays no part in policy decisions." There have been proposals to make him chief of state, but "most Japanese would not like to see him take on any more than his present symbolic role."

The CIA acknowledges "a few complaints from younger Japanese" about Hirohito, but little audible grumbling about the cost of maintaining the imperial household, now more than \$40 million a year.

"By and large," states the CIA, "most Japanese still view the emperor with considerable respect and affection." One reason: He "has traveled widely among the people, something a Japanese emperor had never done before."

At first, the Japanese had "grave doubts about the image the emperor would project" in the United States. But his reception during his 1975 visit to this country "greatly exceeded even the most optimistic Japanese expectations."

The CIA believes the visit contributed "significantly to popular [Jap-

anese] support for continued cooperation with the U.S. [and] opening an era of 'good feelings' in U.S.-Japanese relations."

Characteristically, Hirohito expressed his approval of America not in words but with a gesture. For years afterward, he wore a Mickey Mouse watch that he picked up in Disneyland.

Hirohito is the 124th emperor in Japan's unbroken, 2,644-year-old imperial line. When he ascended to the throne in 1926, he was a "tenno"—the "emperor of heaven." The Japanese considered him a god.

When the Japanese warlords sought his approval for the attack on Pearl Harbor, according to one account, Hirohito voiced his apparent disapproval by reciting a 31-syllable poem composed by his grandfather, extolling universal brotherhood and asking: "Why, then, do winds and water of conflict . . . disturb peace among us?"

The warlords went ahead with their plans anyway, and older Americans will remember Hirohito as a villain in propaganda cartoons, with buck teeth and Coke-bottle eyeglasses, features that took their place with Adolf Hitler's mustache and Hermann Goering's potbelly.

The emperor was able to reverse this image after the war. Today, Hirohito remains the only—and perhaps the unlikely—survivor of World War II's leaders.

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WASHINGTON POST
27 February 1984

JACK ANDERSON

CIA No Longer Well Informed About Kremlin

The press has reported, quite correctly, that U.S. intelligence was caught asleep at the switch by the death of Kremlin leader Yuri V. Andropov and his replacement by Konstantin U. Chernenko.

An insider admitted to me that the CIA wasn't sure whether Andropov was dead or alive during his last days. The first signs of his passing were noticed by The Washington Post's Moscow correspondent, Dusko Doder. The Post alerted U.S. government officials several hours before the first intelligence sightings reached Washington.

After Chernenko had already been anointed, the CIA's Kremlinologists were still predicting that Mikhail Gorbachev would be the new Soviet leader. Not until Chernenko appeared as head of the funeral commission did the CIA conclude that he had emerged as chief comrade. He had been a low fourth on its list of likely prospects.

How could America's multibillion-dollar intelligence apparatus be scooped by a lone journalist? Does this mean our intelligence system can't be relied upon to monitor the

decisions and actions of the Soviet leadership?

In search of the answers, I examined more than 50 classified documents, ranging from "Confidential" to "Top-Secret Umbra." I also consulted top CIA officials, both past and present.

They concede that the CIA has no direct pipelines into the Politburo and few informants behind the grim, fortress-like walls of the Kremlin. They blame this on former president Jimmy Carter, who virtually wiped out the CIA's human-intelligence network within the Soviet Union.

One insider, trying to explain Carter's action, suggested that he probably believed "high-tech intelligence had made old-fashioned intelligence obsolete." Another source just shrugged and said: "I think Carter felt this kind of espionage was immoral."

Yet despite its blind spots, the United States has the best technological intelligence in the world. U.S. agencies can intercept messages, break codes, monitor conversations and photograph just about everything that appears on the Soviet surface. Some photographs are detailed enough to identify a bolt in a Soviet tank.

Because the old men of the Kremlin have been in power for decades, the CIA has also had time to investigate their backgrounds and analyze their behavior thoroughly. The CIA

computers can summon up detailed information about any Soviet leader. The agency has been able to diagnose their health, for example, with uncanny accuracy.

Last July—long before the world had any inkling that Andropov was seriously ill—I was able to write: "Andropov's days are numbered, and he knows it. My CIA sources are betting that he will die within a year. That's how bad his health is . . . Andropov's tenure as top man in the Kremlin could be the shortest in Soviet history."

Classified CIA reports, which described Andropov down to the missing part of his right eyebrow, warned that he would be "a formidable adversary," skilled in political intrigue, perfectly willing to use violence and terror, dedicated to Marxist dogma, "ruthless," and "cunning."

In contrast, top-secret reports describe Chernenko as a master bureaucrat, skilled at "handling paper work." Unlike Andropov, who sought to put his own stamp on the Politburo, Chernenko is expected to function more as "chairman of the board." In the words of the CIA, he'll be "responsible for seeing to it that Politburo decisions are carried out—that is, as the top civil servant of the Politburo, not as its master."

Given his advanced age and frail health (he's 72 and is reported to have emphysema), Chernenko will be another interim leader.

UNITED PRESS INTERNATIONAL
17 February 1984

WAVERLY, IOWA
Iowa-Choice

American voters choose their leaders by deciding which candidate most closely mirrors their own personality, a study by a Wartburg College professor has found.

"If you feel the candidate has qualities you admire and like to see in yourself, you'll probably support him regardless of whether he is a Democrat or Republican," said Dan Thomas, an associate professor of political science.

In his study, Thomas said, he asked a group of voters to determine what their "ideal selves" were and then asked them to rate presidential candidates from the 1976 election.

He based his comparisons on a list of 50 words ranging from "old fashioned" to "shrewd." The voters first picked the words that applied to themselves then chose words that applied to Gerald Ford and Jimmy Carter.

Results showed voter support went to the candidate with whom the voter felt a closer identification.

"The subjects decided how closely each of those adjectives described their ideal selves," he said. "Their ideal selves influenced their political support."

Thomas has authored a number of reports on political behavior and was once sought by the CIA to work up personality assessments of foreign leaders. He declined, saying he was reluctant to leave the academic world for the CIA.

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11 August 1983

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JACK ANDERSON

Long-Distance Analysis Finds Castro Changing

Fidel Castro, the unruly ruler of Cuba and the godfather of Marxist revolutions in the Americas, has been undergoing long-distance psychoanalysis by U.S. intelligence experts for almost a quarter of a century. Along with the gray hairs that are overtaking his beard, he has displayed certain changes in behavior. For instance:

- Once a boozier and womanizer, Castro has now become something of an ascetic. Vodka and rum no longer seem to give him the same stimulation. He has even cut down on his beloved cigars. And the women who once shared his private life have died. His work has become his true mistress, the psychological analysts have concluded.

- On July 26, 1953, Castro led a group of students in a dangerous, almost suicidal attack on a government barracks. The failed attempt resulted in death for most of the rebels and imprisonment for Castro. To the analysts, the suicidal nature of the attack demonstrated his willingness to take desperate risks. But he has now become more canny and cautious. At the massing of U.S. mil-

itary power in Central America, for example, he began sending up conciliatory smoke signals.

- In the 1950s, Castro burst into the communist world still an unformed entity, a flamboyant figure among drab, almost anonymous Marxist leaders, an unguided missile apt to veer off in any trajectory. He chafed over the rigidity of communist dogma and bristled when the Kremlin tried to tell him what to do. But today he is a hard-bitten, calculating communist who is regarded by the Kremlin as a most dependable puppet.

The grim communist experience, however, has not put out the fire in Castro. He remains a looming presence on the international scene by virtue of a dramatic flair and a genius for propaganda. He has a tendency to present himself to the world in a series of triumphal speeches, with rhetoric that raises the hair on the back of the neck.

The psychoanalysts admire his incredible memory for detail. He rumbles and roars for hours at a time, artfully composing his speeches as he goes, without notes or Tele-Prompter. He has the oratorical artillery, the brains and the guile to create a great deal of mischief whenever a fortuitous conjunction of events arises.

Castro's personal life fascinates the analysts. He was born from a union of a middle-class man and the

Castro family maid. He went to a Roman Catholic school, then to university and law school, where he reportedly carried a gun and was a campus bully.

He was also something of a rake. He drank heavily, smoked great quantities of cigars and had many transient love affairs. Though he never married, he fathered a son by an unidentified mistress.

Castro had at least one lasting, intimate relationship. Celia Sanchez was close to him in the earliest days of the revolution, and became both lover and confidante.

Sanchez died in 1980, and there are reports that Castro has never completely recovered from her death. Not only was she a humanizing influence on him, but he now has few people he can trust the way he trusted Sanchez.

The only other woman known to be close to Castro, Santa Maria, committed suicide the same year, reportedly in despair over the direction the revolution had taken.

Two things have dominated Castro's life: his overwhelming ambition and his hatred of the United States. More than two decades of hostility and plotting by U.S. presidents have helped to give Castro an exalted status among Yankee-hating nations that he would not otherwise have. So while he hates us, he depends on our enmity to further his dreams of bigger things.

ARTICLE APPEARED
ON PAGE 58

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THE NEW YORK TIMES MAGAZINE

30 May 1983

ON THE COUCH IN THE CAPITAL

By Sandra McElwaine

Washington has the deserved reputation of being a hard-working, early-rising town, and among the earliest risers are some of the approximately 1,200 psychiatrists in the metropolitan area who minister to the powerful and famous before their official working days begin.

By 6 A.M., just as dawn begins to break over the Potomac, long black limousines and some more modest vehicles begin delivering policy makers and pundits for 45-minute sessions with their therapists.

Nowhere is this early morning activity more frenetic than at 3000 Connecticut Avenue, an apartment building across from the National Zoo. Referred to locally as the "Freud Hilton," it houses 50 or more psychiatrists, psychologists and clinical social workers, more than there are in some states — Wyoming, for instance — and is the home of the District of Columbia Institute of Mental Hygiene, a private clinic that treats lower-income people.

When highly recognizable figures — politicians, lobbyists, journalists — meet in its elevators, hallways or waiting rooms, they studiously ignore one another. They may have rubbed shoulders, even exchanged words, at cocktail or dinner parties the night before, but at 3000 Connecticut Avenue a flicker of recognition seldom passes between them.

Ironically and simultaneously, Washington is a city of celebrity and anonymity, abounding in political and media heavies and hundreds of unknown but often influential career bureaucrats. Both conditions create their own psychological problems, compounded by the political necessity of secrecy when difficulties reach the stage where professional help is needed. Seeing a therapist in Washington can be a touchy business for influential individuals who fear that their futures can be thwarted, even aborted, by the revelation.

So great is the fear, several psychotherapists report, that some patients covered by Government health in-

Sandra McElwaine is a Washington-based writer.

surance prefer to pay for their visits out of private funds rather than have their bosses know they are undergoing treatment. When Senator Thomas F. Eagleton confirmed stories that he had been hospitalized and received electric shock treatments for nervous exhaustion and depression during the 1960's, he was deemed a political liability and dropped as George McGovern's running mate in 1972. And Daniel Ellsberg, the former consultant in the Departments of Defense and State and the Rand Corporation who leaked "The Pentagon Papers" to The New York Times, became a target of the Watergate "plumbers" who broke into his psychiatrist's office in 1971 in an attempt to obtain his file and use the material in it to discredit him.

In a high-powered city of super achievers, many of whose careers depend on an untarnished public image, a climate of fear surrounds any form of psychiatric treatment. Politicians are afraid to admit they have psychological problems because the knowledge might shatter the confidence of the voters back home; members of the White House, Cabinet and sub-Cabinet staffs are afraid it might lose them their jobs; lawyers, their clients; journalists, their credibility.

Most vulnerable, perhaps, are intelligence operatives, whose secretive jobs enforce an isolation that often robs them of the ability to trust anyone, even members of their families. When they require treatment, their cases

are handled by a small group of doctors with special security clearances who protect the agents' identities and any information they might reveal.

But the capital also abounds with persons privy to national and international secrets of lesser sensitivity, persons whose decisions often affect the futures of corporations, institutions and millions of individuals at home and abroad. The burden of responsibility can become unbearable, particularly when piled on top of existing personal problems.

The mental-health problems of Foreign Service officers are dealt with by in-house State Department psychotherapists, who are required to pass the same kind of security clearance as other personnel in sensitive positions. Before diplomats are sent overseas, a staff of mental-health professionals is available to prepare them and their families to live as normal a life abroad as possible. In addition, psychiatrists are headquartered overseas in six regional areas, each of which has a program tailored to fit the circumstances of the particular locale. In general, the troubles they deal with are the same as anywhere else — depression, school problems, family difficulties — but now they must also deal with problems arising from fears of terrorism, bombings and assassination.

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ARTICLE 1A
ON PAGE B-7

THE WASHINGTON POST

15 May 1983

Jack Anderson

A King in Danger

U.S. policy toward Morocco's King Hassan has grown more openly cordial during the Reagan administration, with the aim of strengthening an old and trusted ally. But this may prove to be a mistake. In the subtle world of Arab politics, Uncle Sam's warm embrace could be the kiss of death for Hassan.

It's known as the "Sadat syndrome," after the late Egyptian president, who lost popularity among his countrymen and other Arab states by becoming too cozy with the United States.

There is also the possibility that Hassan may not be getting much in return for risking his credibility at home. Recent U.S. assurances may have misled the king into believing he'll get more military aid than the United States is, in fact, ready to deliver.

Much of the U.S. aid has gone to help Morocco in its dragging, six-year war against the leftist Polisario rebels fighting to force Hassan to give up the Western Sahara, which he seized in 1980. Though the Polisarios have suffered serious setbacks recently and are in no position to win, many U.S. analysts doubt that Hassan can win either.

Officially, the United States is neutral in the conflict. But sources told my associates, Donald Goldberg and Dale Van Atta, that the Reagan administration has been far from neutral. For example:

- Delivery of cluster bombs has been expedited for use in the desert war.
- U.S. training and military equipment have been provided.
- American Embassy officials, including Defense Intelligence Agency personnel, regularly accompany visiting U.S. delegations to the Western Sahara war zone.
- The United States has even given the Moroccans intelligence information on the Polisarios' movements in the Western Sahara.

The result of all this, sources say, is exaggerated Moroccan expectations of U.S. support and a distrust of our intentions by other nations in the region.

A secret CIA profile of Hassan describes a growing estrangement between the king and his subjects. Where once he would ride a white horse through the crowds at religious observances, he rarely makes such vulnerable public appearances now.

The reason is simple: a series of close calls during the 1970s.

In 1971, his top generals tried to kill Hassan during his birthday celebration. A loyal major, Muhammad Oufkir, foiled the coup attempt.

A year later, three Moroccan Air Force F5 fighters tried to shoot down Hassan's plane as he was returning from a trip to France.

The once-loyal Oufkir was implicated in that 1972 plot, and may have been executed, though the official version is that he committed suicide.

Hassan has been understandably suspicious of his military leaders ever since. Last Jan. 25, Gen. Ahmed Dlimi, the king's longtime chief of security, was reported killed in a car accident, but key witnesses apparently disappeared and evidence was suppressed. A few days later, another of the king's aides was killed under equally mysterious circumstances. Western intelligence sources speculated that Hassan, habitually susceptible to rumors, was purging his top military command in fear of another coup attempt.

Certainly the king has become more security conscious and less tolerant of opposition. Many who made the mistake of criticizing the monarch are reportedly behind bars.

Suspicion and distrust permeate the royal entourage. "Rivalry and the jousting for position often pit family against family in the royal court, and intrigue and rumors abound," the secret CIA profile notes. "As the king is influenced by this gossip, the atmosphere is often such that efficient functioning at the top level of the bureaucracy is simply smothered."

Despite the soaring cost of food and oil imports and the country's appalling unemployment—one out of three adult males is without a job—Hassan still lives like a king. Corruption among Moroccan officials is endemic.

In short, Hassan is vulnerable enough to criticism without being embarrassed by public displays of affection from the Reagan administration.

And secret Pentagon and congressional assessments question whether Morocco is the strategic keystone that justifies U.S. support of Hassan. In their view, Morocco is a useful but not absolutely vital transit base for the U.S. Rapid Deployment Force.

There is a real danger that the administration's open support for Hassan may cost him his throne.

ON PAGE F19THE WASHINGTON POST
22 December 1982**NEK ANDERSON**

Hussein Again Holds the Reins On a President

Jordan's King Hussein is playing a cat-and-mouse game with President Reagan.

The doughty little monarch, as usual, has worked his way into position to have a U.S. president eating out of his hand. This is all the more astonishing because the king has bombarded Reagan with bizarre, lengthy, personal letters. One was so rude that no response was made.

Hussein is now the president's pampered guest in Washington. His little Bedouin kingdom is situated strategically right at the center of Reagan's Middle East peace plan. Without Hussein, Reagan would have a peace table with no one sitting at it.

Reagan sees the king as a possible strategic partner, and is ready to offer him a generous gift of arms. But intelligence reports describe Hussein as "uncomfortable" with this role and hesitant to sit down at the bargaining table. He would like the military aid without the strategic honor.

The last four presidents have learned that Hussein is an erratic but wily ruler who knows how to

play diplomatic hardball. His public image is polished, meticulously polite and controlled. But a turbulent personality seethes behind this disciplined royal image.

According to intelligence sources, he has severe mood swings and may even be a manic-depressive. He likes to vent his spleen in personal letters that would quiver the stripes on a diplomat's trousers.

He once wrote a secret letter to President Nixon threatening to go on a "ghazou" unless he got U.S. aid. A ghazou is a Bedouin raid on a neighboring tribe. "We might have to go on a ghazou, an old Arab tribal custom, and get it, Sir, from some quarter or other in this neighborhood," he wrote, "possibly causing you a problem which may be even more serious than the one I am now posing."

Hussein fired off an equally blunt letter to President Ford. If the United States didn't provide Jordan with \$350 million worth of anti-aircraft missiles, he told the president, Jordan would buy them from the Soviet Union. And he pointedly noted that the Soviets had offered him a complete air defense system, which he eventually bought.

Sources told my reporters Lucette Lagnado and Andrea Siegle that Hussein has continued to write blistering, at times offensive, letters to presidents. Reagan administration irritation reached a new high last year when the king released the con-

tents of one letter to the Jordanian press before Reagan even received it.

But Reagan and his aides are not likely to reveal their pique to the king this week. Not only is Hussein crucial to the success of the president's Middle East peace plan, but he has once again begun blowing kisses at the Kremlin.

Last year, Hussein raised hackles when he visited Moscow and heaped praise on the Soviets. At a May 26, 1981, dinner in the Kremlin, the king repeatedly referred to Leonid Brezhnev as a "dear friend" and expressed "profound satisfaction... in developing and consolidating the relations between our countries."

Even more distressing to the Reagan administration was Hussein's praise of the Soviet peace plan for the Middle East. The king told the Soviets that Jordan welcomed their proposal to convene an international conference on the Near East with [the Palestine Liberation Organization] taking part on an equal basis with the other sides. Hussein then proceeded to issue a joint communique with the Soviets that made repeated favorable references to the "international conference."

U.S. officials remain confident that Hussein will not switch allegiances, but the administration is hedging its bet by attempting to negotiate a new arms deal for Jordan. The package includes advanced U.S. fighter-bombers and is expected to trigger a fight in Congress.

RADIO TV REPORTS, INC.

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FOR PUBLIC AFFAIRS STAFF

PROGRAM The Charlie Rose Show

STATION WRC-TV

DATE October 13, 1982 10:30 A.M. CITY Washington, D.C.

SUBJECT Admiral Stansfield Turner

CHARLIE ROSE: Admiral Stansfield Turner has had a record of extraordinary accomplishment in his life. He was a brilliant scholar, a Rhodes scholar. He went on to become an admiral in the Navy. President Carter appointed him as Director of the CIA.

In 1981, January 20th, you left government to become a private citizen and a consultant. When you looked at the world in 1981, January, how did you size it up? What were the relative sensitive points? How were we doing in contrast to the Soviets and the Chinese?

ADMIRAL TURNER: I think, Charlie, that one of the major factors was the Third World, the countries in Latin America, Africa, Asia, were becoming increasingly important to this country. We had focused our intelligence, much of our foreign policy for many years almost exclusively on the Soviet Union and its activities. We have to begin shifting our attention.

Secondly, there were problems developing, even then, with our allies. We weren't paying enough attention to their attitudes and outlooks. The Europeans in particular. And that's become worse since 1981. We need, I believe, in the future to pay more attention to consulting with, understanding, and working closely with our allies if we're going to keep those relationships.

I think those are two of the principal trends.

ROSE: I want to come to the relationship with the allies and the pipeline decision. But first the Soviet Union.

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FOR PUBLIC AFFAIRS STAFF

PROGRAM Jack Anderson Confidential

STATION WJLA-TV
ABC Network

DATE September 25, 1982 7:30 P.M. CITY Washington, D.C.

SUBJECT Profile of Begin

JACK ANDERSON: The man in the world's spotlight this week is Israeli Prime Minister Menachem Begin. In 1978 he won the Nobel Peace Prize for his role in establishing peace with Egypt. Today he stands widely condemned as a warmonger for the invasion of Lebanon. Many of his own countrymen hold him responsible for the massacre of Palestinians under Israeli protection.

What manner of man is Begin? I went to Israel last month to seek the answer. I questioned some of his intimate associates. One was Schmuel Katz, a former comrade in arms who has turned against Begin.

SCHMUEL KATZ: I think that he has -- he has his phases. He has a good deal of warmth in him, and he can also be very cold.

ANDERSON: Perhaps the best assessment of Begin has been compiled by the Central Intelligence Agency. Here's a composite of this secret psychological profile. Let me read from it:

"Begin is an outspoken and somewhat crude or unrefined representative of the Holocaust philosophy. He represents the mentality of those Jews unable to update the Nazi treatment of their brethren."

Is it possible, some critics have charged, that Begin has adopted the methods of the Nazis he so bitterly hated? Here's what Katz has to say.

KATZ: He was particularly concerned about the possibility of loss of life, loss of life not only of Jews, but

Imelda and the generals

The ambition of **President Ferdinand Marcos's** influential wife, **Imelda**, to succeed him will almost certainly be thwarted by the armed forces chiefs. This emerges from secret messages of the Central Intelligence Agency obtained by FOREIGN REPORT.

"Mrs Marcos can be expected to become one of many candidates to succeed her husband, and her manoeuvring will add greatly to the political turmoil and instability that will follow his departure," one CIA report predicts. But it will not be easy, according to this report, because her "political coterie" does not include any influential military leaders.

"Much of her power is based on her husband's authority and on the belief among both foreigners and Filipinos that she is able to influence his decisions." Her political organisation is "largely made up of media people and businessmen, plus a scattering of politicians and a few military men. Most are sycophants seeking protection".

The CIA believes that her strongest opponent is the defence secretary, **Juan Ponce Enrile**. "She regards Enrile, a longtime Marcos confidant with strong support in the military, as the principal threat to her ambitions," a secret report says. "Since the early days of martial law, Enrile has been widely considered the most obvious successor to Marcos, and there is a long-standing deep personal antagonism between Mrs Marcos and him."

When Marcos planned a purge of corruption in government, Imelda added her own contributions to the purge list, hoping to protect some of her supporters in the armed forces who were threatened with dismissals while purging some of Enrile's friends. Marcos pulled back from the purge under military pressure because, the CIA says, the generals asserted that there was no reason why they should be publicly humiliated for corruption while many of the president's relatives were equally tainted.

The CIA reports that Mrs Marcos "is not well-regarded by senior officers", that their loyalty to the president "does not extend to Mrs Marcos" and that many "do not like her".

The CIA has learnt that a group of senior military officers has been making plans for a post-Marcos government that would exclude his wife. When it appeared that Marcos was going to nominate his wife as his successor, Enrile was quoted as saying privately: "We members of 'the group' must keep our heads down and our mouths shut. Unless we do, we will not survive." The CIA said, in this report, that Enrile would have to "smile and do what is necessary and stay alive".

Another CIA cable quotes a Filipino army officer as saying that "if Marcos dies before she does, and she makes her anticipated bid for the presidency, then as surely as night follows day, we will get rid of her. (We) could not tolerate her running the country." Two other military officers were quoted in the same cable as saying that if Marcos were to die, the armed forces would oppose Mrs Marcos and "she would be ordered to leave the country immediately".

Mrs Marcos is aware of her weakness and has been trying to develop a military following by courting some officers and by working through their wives, one of the CIA reports says. But most of her friends "are opportunists who want her help in protecting their economic interests. Few of them carry much weight in the military, and they would not necessarily support her in a bid for the presidency".

CONTINUED

Marcos, who is 65, has been giving a free rein to his 52-year-old wife by appointing her as a roving ambassador, minister of human settlements and governor of the greater Manila area. Her desire for the Manila post stemmed from her belief that she needed to demonstrate her administrative talents, according to the CIA, and "her husband acceded to the idea after a well-orchestrated 'popular appeal' stage-managed by Mrs Marcos's Manila clique". The CIA believes that Manila's middle and lower classes have never liked the Marcos clan and Imelda has not been able to win them over.

● During his recent visit to Washington, Marcos insisted in private talks that he did not intend his wife to succeed him. His views might not, however, be taken into account in the turmoil of the post-Marcos Philippines.

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FOR

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PROGRAM Jack Anderson Confidential

STATION WJLA-TV
ABC Network

DATE October 2, 1982 7:30 P.M.

CITY Washington, D.C.

SUBJECT Ariel Sharon

JACK ANDERSON: A smoldering question mark hangs over Israel today: Who is to blame for the massacre of Palestinian refugees? This question will be examined by a board of inquiry. But I've spoken to sources in Israel who know what happened. They tell me that two men are responsible for unleashing the Phalangists. The two are Prime Minister Menachem Begin and Defense Minister Ariel Sharon.

Of course, they didn't approve the massacre. But Israeli intelligence warned in advance that it could happen. Many Israeli officials the real culprit is Sharon. They tell me that Sharon pushed Israel into a war that could have been avoided, that Sharon has now disgraced the Israeli Army.

I spent an evening with Sharon last month at his ranch. He made it clear that he didn't like restrictions.

ARIEL SHARON: When a Jew was killed, immediately we were asked to show self-restraint. I mean from all around the world we got requests, "Please show self-restraint." And believe me, we showed self-restraint for a long time.

ANDERSON: Sharon also tried to justify his military actions in Lebanon.

SHARON: Since the war started in 1975 between the PLO terrorist organization and the Christians, the number of people killed in Lebanon was over 100,000 dead and over 300,000 wounded.

ANDERSON: I've had access to the CIA's secret psychological profile of Sharon. It uses words like brilliant, ruthless and ambitious to describe him. But the word that stands

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